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ABSTRACT

Kohn's work on the relationship between social class and parental values was expanded by searching for value dimensions other than Kohn's self-direction/conformity construct and by investigating three aspects of social structure: immigrant status, quality of neighborhood, and housing type. Data were collected from parents of 305 9- to 11-year-old children residing in Sydney, Australia. Kohn's parental values instrument was used, and data were analyzed by multivariate regression. Immigrant status, neighborhood quality, family income, child's sex, and street type all predicted particular parental value sets. Non-Anglo immigrants differed from other groups in their strong emphasis on school performance and sibling relations. Parents in lower risk/higher quality neighborhoods put greater value on children's sociability than did those in higher risk/lower quality neighborhoods. Self-control, school performance, and tidiness were favored by middle-income families. Parents living in industrial/commercial streets devalued school performance, achievement striving, and curiosity. Parental occupation and education did not have significant predictive power over and above the contribution of social structural variables. Reanalysis of the data according to Kohn's factor-analytic procedure gave the traditional self-direction/conformity factor, but immigrant status, quality of neighborhood, and income continued to explain more variance than did occupation or education. Implications of the findings are discussed. (Author/RH)

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CONDITIONS OF LIFE AND PARENTAL VALUES*

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ABSTRACT

The study constitutes an expansion of Kohn's work on social class and parental values, in two directions: firstly a search for value dimensions other than Kohn's self-direction/conformity; and secondly, an investigation of three aspects of social structure: immigrant status, quality of neighbourhood and housing type. Data were collected from parents of 305 9-11 year olds resident in Sydney, Australia, a country which now ranks second only to Israel in proportion of population born overseas. Kohn's parental values instrument was used, but analysed by multivariate regression rather than the traditional factor analytic method. Immigrant status, neighbourhood quality, family income, child's sex and street type all predicted particular parental value sets. Non-Anglo immigrants differed from other groups in their strong emphasis on school performance, sex role performance and sibling relations. Parents in higher quality neighbourhoods put greater value on children's sociability than did those in higher risk neighbourhoods. Self-control, school performance and tidiness were favored by middle income families. Parents living in industrial/commercial streets devalued school performance, achievement striving and curiosity. Parental occupation and education did not have significant predictive power over and above the contribution of these variables. Reanalysis of the data using Kohn's factor analytic procedure gave the traditional self-direction/conformity factor, but immigrant status, quality of neighbourhood and income continued to explain more variance than occupation or education. Implications of the findings are discussed.

As Elder and Bronfenbrenner have pointed out, the general field of social structure and personality has suffered from a dearth of insights into the linkages which transform structural conditions into psychological outcomes. Bronfenbrenner refers to Melvin Kohn (a, b) as the "one scholar" who has systematically pursued the issue and calls for more research expanding the focus of Kohn's work.

Kohn's central concern has been with the relationship between socioeconomic status and parental values, and he sees the nature of the father's job as a critical variable linking the two. In Kohn's view, it is the degree of self-direction or conformity required by the father's job that decides the qualities that parents come to value for their children. In general, middle class jobs require and reward much higher levels of self-direction than do working class jobs, which are likely to put a premium on conformity; hence there is a strong but by no means perfect association between socioeconomic status and values. Interested in seeing an expansion of his pioneering work from the study of "social class in particular to social structure in general", Kohn (b : 1) commends the work of Schooler on cultural background and of Olsen on family structure as indicating possible directions for such expansion.

The present study constitutes such an expansion, in two directions. One is a search for value dimensions that may be added to Kohn's dimension of self-direction/conformity. The other is the use of three variables involved in social structure: immigrant status, quality of neighbourhood, and type of housing. For all three variables, the central question is the relationship to parental values, using the set of values developed in

Kohn's earlier work (Kohn, a). For all three variables also, there is work available pointing to association with attitudes of family members; in effect, work that makes feasible the exploration of specific links to parental values. The data come from a larger study being conducted in Sydney, Australia. The focus of this study is the influence of social structure and the local community on families and primary age children.

Immigration is a variable of particular interest given the controversy between "structural" and "cultural"explanations in the literature on social structure and personality. Structural explanations see psychological qualities such as values and attitudes as arising from a family's position in the social structure, for instance its socioeconomic position or the conditions obtaining in the father's job, whereas cultural explanations give more weight to such things as national tradition (House). The situation where immigrants of different national background occupy jobs similar to many of the native-born therefore constitutes an interesting test case of these alternative viewpoints.

Australia provides an excellent environment in which to investigate this issue, due to the very large immigrant intake since 1947, when the Australian government instituted a policy of industrial expansion requiring substantial population increase. By the mid-seventies Australia was second only to Israel in the proportion of its population born overseas (Burnley and Walker). The major immigrant groups have been (apart from the British) from southern Europe and the middle east, and of rural background. They have moved overwhelmingly into low skilled jobs in manufacturing, construction and transport. Despite facing the usual

problems of low-skilled foreign language immigrants, these immigrants have been noted for their high aspirations for their children (Fitzgerald), which have to some extent been realized. For instance, among Greek immigrants (one of the largest groups) while first generation employment has been concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled work (Matheson) among the second generation it is clerical, technical, administrative and professional employment that predominates. Overall, a slightly higher proportion of second-generation immigrants are in high status jobs than is the case in the non-immigrant population (Rowland). This degree of upward mobility suggests that the values for children held by parents in the low status immigrant families may not be the same as those of the similarly-placed native-born. Ogbu's ethnographic study of California schoolchildren supports the existence of such a difference. Ogbu found that to explain his results he had to make a distinction between the attitudes of families belonging to "subordinate minorities" such as blacks and Amerindians, and "voluntary immigrant minorities", who expect their children to get ahead and see education as a major means of achieving this goal.

Quality of residential neighbourhood. This has long been regarded as distinct from socioeconomic status and as influencing a range of values, attitudes and life opportunities (Durkheim, Rossi, Martin, a, Bronfenbrenner). Rossi for example raises the possibility that local community characteristics are a significant input to the well-being of individuals and households, over and above their personal characteristics such as socioeconomic status. The recent U.S. studies of Almeida and of Garbarino and his

associates (Garbarino and Sherman; Garbarino, Stocking and Associates) have demonstrated that neighbourhoods classed as equivalent in socio-economic status on the basis of residents' occupational, education and income level can differ greatly in respect of community cohesiveness, difficulties experienced in raising children, attitudes to schooling, availability and use of community services, and child abuse and other forms of social deviance.

Until recently an adequate measure of neighbourhood quality has proved hard to come by. New techniques in the computer analysis of census and social statistics, however, now make it possible to quantify neighbourhood quality (Garbarino, Stocking and Associates; Vinson and Homel). The Vinson-Homel "risk" index, used in this study as a measure of neighbourhood quality, is defined as the relative vulnerability of an area to a range of conditions that are commonly accepted as problems. The study by Vinson and Homel, commissioned originally by the Australian Government to help develop reliable measures of local community "need", stands very much in the social indicators tradition which is recommended by Garbarino as a fruitful new approach to the exploration of the relationships between community ecology and family characteristics and pathologies. The study adopted an approach similar to that of Kogan et al. in the U.S.A. but utilized a much broader range of variables. Twenty five indicators were constructed for areas which the literature has shown to be problematic in western societies - income and economic self-sufficiency, physical and mental health, education outcomes, public order and safety

and family stability (Smith). Recognizing that census data allows the construction of only a small number of variables which are direct indicators of social problems, heavy use was made of other Government data, both published and unpublished (for example petitions for divorce, emergency cash assistance and children in special activity classes).

The risk (or neighbourhood quality) score, which was assigned to each local government area in New South Wales, was derived from a principal components analysis of the correlations of the 25 indicators, and has since been "validated" by confirmatory factor analysis, by extension to biomedical indicators (Gibson and Johansen) and by surveys in areas of varying degree of risk. In this latter respect, Vinson and Homel, following Rossi and Martin (a), found neighbourhood risk scores to be associated with measures of community solidarity, with parents' locus of control (Rotter) and with educational aspirations for children. Martin's (a) data suggest that these attitudes may be associated with the more general pattern of values that parents come to hold for their children, in particular the emphasis that they put on community participation, but this proposition has not yet been put to the test.

Housing. Quality of housing, floor occupied in high rise units, availability of play space and adjacency to shops and factories have all been shown to influence parent and child attitudes and behaviour, through the provision of greater or lesser amounts of privacy, personal space, intrusion of neighbours, noise, comfort and safety (Gump). Bronfenbrenner suggests that housing conditions which make certain parent-child activities difficult (for example conversation and reading aloud in a

noisy environment) may lead to such activities and the skills involved becoming devalued, but notes that this proposition also has not as yet been tested (244). Housing status is loosely correlated with both occupational status and neighbourhood quality, but is by no means equivalent with these, as Gump and Cohen, Glass and Singer amply demonstrate.

To facilitate comparisons with earlier work on parental values, measures of parental occupation, education, income and religion are also included in the present study.

Measuring parental values. Kohn's instrument is used as the most validated measure of parental values (Kohn, b, Bronfenbrenner, Gecas). However, in order to increase the possibility of obtaining dimensions other than Kohn's self-direction/conformity dimension, a different method of analysis is adopted. A problem with the traditional method of analysis is that it militates against the location of other value dimensions, in the following way: the interviewer presents respondents with a set of 13 qualities of children, and asks them to rank these in terms of desirability. The responses have then been factor analysed, and factor scores on the resultant first factor - very similar in most studies to date, although by no means all (Wright and Wright) and described by Kohn as self-direction/conformity - are then used as the dependent variable. Unless other factors are also located, and factor scores on these also used, (and this is rarely done - Kohn himself discounts the interest of his own second factor) it is not possible to find parental values other than self-direction/conformity.

An answer lies in replacing the factor analytic approach with more flexible multivariate techniques of analysis which allow for the

simultaneous location of different value dimensions associated with differing dimensions of social structure. Using this approach it is not necessary to factor analyse the items in order to obtain a dependent variable (Wright and Wright). Each item becomes in itself a separate measure, and the discriminant function values obtained for each item in relation to each social structure variable describe the relevant pattern of values (Huck, Cormier and Bounds; Timm).

It is thus possible to go beyond the traditional arguments as to which of a particular set of social variables - for example paternal education or occupation - most influences one particular value set (self-direction/conformity). These are arguments with which the literature to date appears to have been overly concerned (Wright and Wright; Kohn, a, b). Important though it may be, the discussion above demonstrates that this one dimension can scarcely be regarded as the only one that varies between parents of different backgrounds.

The general hypothesis is that the self-direction/conformity pattern will emerge in association with the SES variables (occupation, education and income) and that other value patterns will be found to be associated with the immigration, neighbourhood and housing variables. In particular, it is predicted that immigrant parents will place a high value on school achievements and that parents living in lower risk (higher quality) neighbourhoods will place more emphasis on social participation than those in high risk areas.

DESIGN

The Sample

The sample comprised 305 Sydney families which included a 9-11 year old child (9-11 year olds were chosen as the child interviews were an important feature of the larger study and included questions that demanded a certain level of cognitive and social maturity). The age restriction was not considered a problem in the light of Kohn's view that"the magnitudes of the relationships of class to these values is much the same for all age levels" (b:56). Nor was the restriction to one Australian city considered a major problem, since more than 20 percent of the Australian population live in the Sydney metropolitan area, and Australia is geographically a relatively homogeneous nation in terms of social composition and family structure (Forrest). In order to obtain a sample that could be weighted so as to represent the total Sydney population, but which also adequately represented the social-structural variables under investigation, a three-stage probability sampling procedure was used. In the first stage the 36 administrative regions of the city (Local Government Areas: LGAs) were stratified into six categories representing high, medium and low levels of "risk" (Vinson and Homel), each level being divided into inner and outer regions. Within each stratum, one LGA was then selected with probability proportional to the number of 9-11 year old children resident in the area. The six selected LGAs were then divided into neighbourhoods, defined as primary school feeder areas, and three neighbourhoods selected from each by a probability sampling formula which included estimated neighbourhood risk score and percentage of the population born overseas in a non-English speaking country. Within each school feeder

district, the names of 9-11 year old children were randomly selected from school rolls and letters sent home to parents requesting permission that they and their child be interviewed. In all, 18 state primary schools and 17 Roman Catholic parochial schools serving the same areas were involved; the average response rate over schools was 70.4 percent. Of the target children, 159 were girls and 146 boys.

In line with the aims of the larger study, an equal representation of mothers and fathers was sought. Pilot testing however indicated that fathers often lacked adequate knowledge of their child's life. Accordingly, questions about the child were always asked of the mother (or surrogate). The Kohn parental values questions were included in this set, and were therefore always asked of the mother. Kohn has sampled both mothers and fathers at different times and described their responses as "consistent" (Kohn, a).

The Measures

Social structure variables. Separate neighbourhood quality scores for the 18 areas sampled were calculated, using the risk formula derived from Vinson and Homel. (Details available on request). A more localised measure of neighbourhood, street type (commercial or residential) was included as an independent variable. Housing status was defined as involving (a) home ownership (owing or buying, private rental, welfare rental), (b) housing type (separate, attached, low rise apartment, high rise apartment, above shop, other), (c) floor occupied, (d) housing upkeep compared to the rest of the street, and (e) amount of play space.

Immigrant status was collapsed into five categories: AA (both parents native Australian born); NN (both parents born overseas in a non-English speaking country: Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia in most instances); AN/NA (mixed marriages between an Australian born and a non-English speaking born parent); EE/E+ (one or both parents born in an overseas English-speaking country)and SP (single parents, whom it did not appear appropriate to assign to any of the previous categories, although most were in fact Australian-born).. The associated variable of urbanicity of background was coded into three categories (both rural, mixed, both urban).

Type of school was classified as Catholic or State. Occupational status was coded from Congalton's 7-point scale of Australian occupations (upper professional/managerial; lower professional/managerial; upper clerical/sales; lower clerical/sales; skilled blue collar; semi-skilled; unskilled), with an additional category included for unemployed. Where both mother and father were employed the higher status occupation was used (almost always that of the father). Paternal and maternal education were included as separate variables using a 7-point scale. Family income was calculated by dividing total income by the number of persons dependent on this income, using a weighted formula developed by the Australian Commission of Enquiry into Poverty (Saunders). Religion and religious commitment were incorporated into an 8-fold categorisation (Protestant, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, other, with/without high religious commitment). Commitment was measured by the question "How important is it to you to provide religious training for your children (very important, fairly important, fairly unimportant, not at all important). Child's sex and age (individual

years) were also included as predictor variables. The age of the mother was a covariate.

Parental Values. Kohn's 13 parental values items were used, along with one extra item that the literature indicated would be especially relevant to rural immigrant families of non-English speaking backgrounds: "gets on well with brothers and sisters" (Bowen). Following Kohn, mothers were presented with a list of the 14 qualities and asked "Which three qualities listed on this card would you say are most desirable for (child) to have?" They were then asked from among these to select the most desirable quality of all. The same procedure was followed to obtain the three least desired qualities and of these the one least desired of all. Items were scored +2, +1, 0 (not chosen), -1, -2.

Method of Analysis. This was undertaken in two stages. In the first stage each of the 17 measures of social structure was treated as a predictor variable and was individually analysed against the 14 items, using multivariate analysis of variance.[1] This was done to gain insight into the contribution of each structural variable, and does not of course allow for the fact that these are likely to be inter-correlated. In the second stage, all predictors were incorporated in a multivariate regression, and the models reduced using the method of Aitkin, modified to incorporate Wilks' lambda criteria to test for multivariate significance.

Once a reduced set of predictor variables had been obtained, the model was interpreted by examining the univariate significance of each value item together with its weight on the adjusted standardised discriminant function (Timm). The discriminant function represents that weighted combination of values items which maximizes the "variance

explained" by a given predictor, and hence in this case describes the pattern of values associated with that variable. This approach to multivariate analysis is now very well established in the literature (Huck, Cormier and Bounds). Correlations between the valuesitems and the appropriate discriminant functions are presented, on the grounds that this conveys the maximum information in the minimum space (Timm). Since there is no satisfactory single measure of variance explained in a multivariate analysis, Wilks' lambda is used as an overall indicator (the smaller the value of lambda, the higher the variance shared by two sets of variables) together with the first squared canonical correlation.

RESULTS

TABLE 1 HERE

Table 1 presents details of the immigrant and occupational status of families in the sample showing the NN families to be particularly concentrated in lower status jobs, as is the case in the Australian population (Rowland). All except the highest and lowest status categories were well-represented. Numbers of boys and girls in each of the 18 neighbourhoods sampled (not shown) were roughly equal. The distributions on some other predictor variables was quite skewed; for example only a minorit of the families lived in non-residential streets.

Variables with predictive power and associated values.

A number of parental values (other than self-direction/conformity) were found to be associated with aspects of social structure. Some aspects of social structure however proved to be less effective predictors than expected. Table 2 summarizes the results of the individual multivariate

ANOVAs and of the MANOVA with all predictors after reduction, while Table 3 presents loadings on the discriminant functions and first principal components.

TABLES 2 AND 3 ABOUT HERE

As shown in Table 2, a number of the social structure variables which predicted parental values when analysed independently, lost predictive power when all social structure variables were analysed simultaneously. Surprisingly, those lost include two of Kohn's critical variables - occupation and fathers' education. Lost also was maternal education, which some other authors have nominated as important (Gecas), and which might have been expected to emerge in the present analysis, since mothers rather than fathers were interviewed. The variables which remain are immigrant status, neighbourhood quality, family income, child's sex and street-type. No other variables were significant when added to this reduced set, and no other adequate reduced model emerged from the analysis.[2] Parental occupation became non-significant when adjusted for any one of a range of variables.

Both religion and rural-urban background showed predictive power when fitted on their own, but were deleted from the final model. Immigrant status appears to subsume the variance associated with these two predictors. With respect to religion, a plotting of the mean discriminant function scores obtained for the religion analysis showed the two Orthodox groups (high and low religious commitment) standing out from all other groups. With regard to urban/rural background, the scores distinguished families with two parents of rural background from all others. In the present sample, orthodox religion and rural background is found mainly among immigrant families.

Figures 1-3 illustrate the value patterns that emerged in the reduced model when discriminant function scores were plotted. By far the most powerful predictor is immigrant status (42.9 percent of the explained variance) (Figure 1) and it is the NN families (both parents born in non-English speaking countries) that stand out from all others. The correlations in Table 3 indicate that being a "good student" is of pre-eminent importance to these mothers, followed by "acts like a boy/girl" and "gets on well with brothers and sisters". The remaining correlations, with the exceptions of "obeys parents" and "self-control", fall into a self-direction/conformity pattern, although rather more weakly than in Kohn's analysis. These data then support our prediction in respect of non-Anglo immigrants.

FIGURES 1-3 ABOUT HERE

Figure 2 plots discriminant function scores against neighbourhood quality, the second most powerful predictor (20.7 percent of the explained variance). The main items contributing to the discriminant function are "gets on well with other children" (most important), "tries hard to succeed" and "gets on well with brothers and sisters". In general, the lower the neighbourhood quality score, the fewer the mothers who endorsed the first two items, although the lowest quality area represents an anomaly. The higher value placed on sociability in higher quality areas also supports the proposition that neighbourhood quality generates values independent of those generated by personal socioeconomic or cultural status.

Figure 3a plots discriminant function scores against family income (18.3 percent of the explained variance). Table 3 shows that the item mainly associated with this variable is "self-control", with "good student"

and "neat and clean" making lesser contributions. The graph is again curvilinear, indicating that these qualities are most valued by parents in the middle ranges of incomes, and significantly less by those at the top and bottom of the distribution.[3]

With respect to sex of child, Table 3 shows that two items primarily discriminated mothers whose target child in the sample was a boy from those whose child was a girl (8.3 percent of explained variance). The items are "neat and clean", more highly valued by mothers of girls, and "acts like a boy/girl (own sex)", preferred by mothers of boys (Figure 3b).

Finally, Figure 3c separates out families living in commercial or mixed streets as placing relatively little value on the child's being a "good student", "trying hard to succeed", and being "interested in how and why things happen" (6.3 percent of explained variance). Such families were a minority (12 percent) of whom half resided in the highest risk areas. These families appear to constitute the most disadvantaged segment of the sample; however the marginal statistical significance of the variable should be kept in mind.

FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

Although parental occupation was not included in the reduced model, Figure 4 is included because of the theoretical importance ascribed to occupation by Kohn. The discriminant function scores come from the model with occupation as the sole predictor. From Table 3, it can be seen that the dimension is very close to that found by Kohn, the only difference being the "good student" item which did not emerge as strongly in Kohn's factor analysis. The nature of the association in Figure 4 is similar to that found by previous researchers, apart from the drop-off among unskilled workers. It is worth noting that this group was not included in Kohn's studies (Gecas).

Results using Kohn's traditional method of analysis

These results are included for the sake of comparability. The relevant data are presented in Columns 7 and 8 of Table 3. The first principal component (column 7 of Table 3) closely resembles Kohn's original self-direction/conformity factor, with the exception of "acts like a boy/girl", which failed to load on Kohn's factor (although it appeared in the analysis of Wright and Wright). The variance explained (39 percent) is within the range reported in earlier studies (Gecas), so it appears that the present data are in line with those obtained in these studies. For complete comparability, the analysis was repeated omitting the added item "gets on well with brothers and sisters", but this produced no essential change in the obtained pattern (column 8 of Table 3). Using the latter analysis, the traditional form of analysis was then carried out by regressing scores on the first principal component against the 17 social structure variables. When this was done, occupation once again failed to survive as a predictor of values when adjusted for the other 16 variables, the P value being .71. (With occupation deleted from the full model, R^2 fell only one percent, from 39 to 38 percent). As in the multivariate analysis, immigrant status, neighbourhood and income remain much more powerful predictors. A further analysis, using as the dependent variable the discriminant function weights for occupation (as these so closely resembled the self-direction/conformity factor and as this procedure would mathematically maximise the possible contribution of occupation) gave essentially the same result.

Pursuing the issue further, the interaction between immigrant status and occupation was investigated in order to establish whether the conformity end of the self-direction/conformity factor would emerge as valued by non-immigrant parents but not by immigrant parents, when both are of working

class status. (As shown in Table 1, 74 percent of non-Anglo families in the sample were in blue collar jobs:skilled trades, semi-skilled and unskilled). It was predicted that with the non-Anglo contribution removed, occupation would emerge as the salient predictor for the "old" working class. The evidence for an interaction effect was however very weak (P = .09). In a final analysis the NN families were removed from the sample and the analysis repeated on the remainder of the sample. Occupation once again failed to emerge as a significant predictor (P = .28), as of course did immigrant status. Within this reduced sample, the most powerful predictors were income and child's sex. R^2 for the full model was 31 percent, compared to 39 percent for the larger sample including the non-Anglo respondents.

DISCUSSION

The findings of the study indicate that the Kohn instrument, in combination with multivariate regression analysis, provides a fruitful technique for exploring associations between parental values and a range of aspects of social structure. The outcomes are of course constrained by the selection of values items used, but as Kohn (a) has pointed out, his selection was carefully made in terms of range and relevance. By far the strongest association to emerge was that between immigrant status and a value pattern centred on scholastic achievement, with an emphasis also on sex-role performance and relations with siblings, and down-playing the value of considerateness, judgement and relations outside the family. This is in line with the prediction of the study that immigrant families would place a high value on school achievement, but goes well beyond it. The extra findings do however agree with the ethnographic literature on immigrant southern European and middle eastern families, which describes them as particularly

concerned with family ties and with children's acting in line with traditional sex role expectations (Bottomley a, b; Soccio, Bowen). In a recent comparative study of attitudes towards education among native-born Australians and English, Greek, southern Italian and Yugoslav immigrant families, Marjoribanks found that high educational aspirations were held by all three non-Anglo groups, but were particularly typical of the Greek families, so that it is interesting to note that the largest single group of non-Anglo families in the present sample were of Greek or Cypriot origin.

This finding would seem to favour a "cultural" rather than a "structural" explanation of the origin of parental values (House) since the parents in these families occupied jobs which in most cases neither required nor rewarded educational achievement. It is worth noting however that this is a particular kind of cultural effect, combining both traditional elements - family solidarity and sex role performance - and future orientation, in the form of educational aspirations for children.

The association found between neighbourhood quality and parental enthusiasm for children to get along well with other children builds on Vinson and Homel's earlier finding of greater community participation by residents of lower risk neighbourhoods, and further establishes the value of the neighbourhood measure as a predictor of attitudes and values. The independence of the neighbourhood measure from the more commonly used personal socioeconomic measure - occupation and education in particular - was clearly established by the regression analysis. The interview protocols provided further illumination as to the link between neighbourhood quality and parental attitudes. In the higher quality areas, social skills were highly

valued, and the parents described various ways in which they helped children to make and maintain friendships. Parents in low quality areas, by contrast, often stressed the importance of their children not associating with the "rough elements" among the local children, a proscription which in some cases seemed to involve most other children in the area. The aberrantly high value placed on children's peer interactions by mothers in the highest risk area seems to go against this interpretation and obviously requires further investigation. This was an inner city "slum" suburb with a risk score well above that of the other high risk areas.

Of the three most common measures of socio-economic status included in the analysis - occupation, education and income - only income emerged as a significant predictor. Since these three variables have usually been found to be well-correlated (Blau and Duncan) it was expected that the value pattern associated with income would be self-direction/conformity. Not so: instead of the traditional linear association between social class and desire for self-direction in children, the data indicated a curvilinear relationship with the "protestant work ethic" items of self-control and studiousness being most valued by those in the middle income range. The method used in calculating family income (Saunders) is relevant here. This method was devised to allow for the benefits incurred by two income families and the costs associated with larger numbers of dependents. The rapid movement of married women into the workforce in recent times has largely broken the nexus between paternal occupation and family income. The distribution of incomes of individual workers still falls into the classical Christmas-tree-shaped distribution associated with industrial societies and is well-correlated with occupational status. When incomes of husbands and wives are added

together as family income, however, the distribution alters markedly towards a scarcecrow-shaped distribution (U.S. Bureau of the Census). The bottom of the income distribution (the legs and feet of the scarecrow) is now occupied by families headed by a lone mother, or by a welfare recipient, or by a single low-income earner supporting a large family (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Cherlin, Henderson). It seems understandable that such families should come to devalue self-control and studiousness, since their situation militates against these virtues being greatly rewarded. By contrast, the wealthiest families today commonly comprise two high-income ("dual-career") professional or executive parents, and few children. The fact that these parents also devalue self-control may be due to their holding rather distinctive values, including high respect for children's own pace of development (Pepitone-Rockwell) as well of course as possessing sufficient resources to allow them to implement such values.

The street-type variable appears to have separated out a group of families who are very disadvantageously placed in terms of the social structure, and who devalue scholastic ability, curiosity and achievement striving. These "defeatist" parents were concentrated in inner city industrial areas, and their defeatism may be a response to difficult and depressing living conditions, as Brofenbrenner would suggest. Alternatively, these families may represent an example of "downwards drift" (Gans) by the least coping members of the community into cheap rental accommodation in factory-dominated streets.

The finding in respect of child's sex indicates that parents continue to value different behaviour in sons and daughters over and above the effects of socio-economic status and cultural background. The failure

of occupation to emerge as a predictor variable in both the multivariate regression and the factorial analysis came as a surprise. The factorial solution paralleled very closely that obtained by Kohn and others in the U.S.A., Taiwan, Italy, France and Britain, so there is no reason to believe that the sample is for some reason dissimilar. It is intriguing therefore to speculate whether re-analysis of these earlier data by the present methods (both the multivariate regression and the multipredictor factorial analysis) would produce results similar to those described above. Would occupation as a predictor disappear totally, as in the present analysis, or at least lose salience? One interesting possibility is that the rather confusing discrepancies between the U.S. and other data (for instance the studies done in Peru (Scurrah and Montalvo) and in Taiwan (Olsen)), would emerge on re-analysis as due to real cultural differences, of great interest in their own right.

The absence of occupation as a predictor may well have been due, at least in part, to the high correlation between occupation and immigrant status. The immigrants make up more than half the working class in this sample, as indeed they do within Australian society. But they are a working class different from that described by Kohn and his colleagues, in that they place much more emphasis on children's educational advancement and on sex role conformity and sibling relations. This suggests that position in the social structure is not of itself an adequate predictor of values, nor perhaps are conditions of work (as suggested by Kohn), although this variable was not directly measured in the present study. Some further explanatory concepts seem necessary, concepts that take cognisance of future goals and

cultural heritage, as well as conditions of life and work. Ogbu's distinction between subordinate and immigrant minorities, already mentioned, has value in this respect. Also likely to prove useful is the concept of ethclass, defined by Gordon as

> "the locus of a sense of participational identification. With a person of the same social class but of a different ethnic group one shares behavioural similarities but not a sense of peoplehood. With those of the same ethnic group but of a different social class, one shares the sense of peoplehood but not behavioural similarities." (136)

What has been demonstrated is a link between several aspects of social structure and particular parental values. The opportunity is now greater for studies of the ways in which values transmit themselves into behaviour such as childrearing practices, and into child outcomes. The work of Kohn and his associates in respect of self-direction/conformity offers a model here.

The opportunity is also now greater to measure changes in parental values that occur following changes in conditions of life. One example would be changes in neighbourhood quality, following such events as resettlement of inner city families into new housing developments. Another important area of change is cultural assimilation. There is much evidence (Martin, b) that immigrant groups move over time towards the values of the host country. At what point in time might we find the non-Anglo families beginning to devalue school achievement and sex typing in their children? Ten years? A generation? And will there be a difference between those who are upwardly mobile and those who are not? These are important questions and amenable to research.

NOTES

1. The variables of income and neighbourhood quality were analysed as numerical scores and represented in the analyses as third order orthogonal polynomials to avoid multicollinearity. Hence Figures 2 and 3(a) present smoothed relationships.

2. In fact we departed from Aitkin's method in including street-type ($p = .05$). We retained this variable in the model because of its intrinsic interest and because of the additional light it throws on the neighbourhood risk variable. However, given its marginal level of statistical significance, additional to other variables in the reduced set, its apparent effects should be interpreted with caution.

3. The three lowest income families appeared as outliers in the analysis, and are not represented in Figure 3(a). Omission of these families from the analysis does not materially alter the interpretation in the text.

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Table 1. Socio-economic status by immigrant status

SES (Congalton)	Immigrant status				
	AA	NW	AN/NE	EE/E+	Single Pa
1 Upper prof/managerial	3	1	-	1	-
2 Lower prof/managerial	8	2	1	3	-
3 Upper clerical/sales	30	2	3	2	1
4 Lower clerical/sales	28	13	6	14	3
5 Skilled blue collar	37	17	8	4	9
6 Semi-skilled	29	39	3	7	5
7 Unskilled	4	1	1	0	1
8 Not employed	4	2	1	4	8

Table 2. Associations between predictor variables and parental values items, for each predictor variable fitted on its own and for the reduced model.

Predictor variable	Each predictor variable fitted on its own			Reduced model (each variable adjusted for all others)		
	Λ	R_1^2	P	Λ	R_1^2	P
Immigrant status	.615	.30	.00	.596	.31	.00
Neighbourhood quality	.751	.15	.00	.764	.17	.00
Family income	.798	.13	.01	.784	.13	.00
Child's sex	.889	.11	.00	.895	.10	.00
Street - type	.930	.07	.09	.919	.08	.05
Parental occupation	.647	.16	.02			
Maternal education	.629	.23	.00			
Paternal education	.685	.15	.03			
Rural-urban background	.837	.12	.00			
Religion	.602	.21	.00			
Type of school	.936	.06	.15			
Home ownership	.938	.04	.90			
Floor occupied	.967	.03	.77			
Play space	.954	.05	.46			
Housing upkeep	.779	.09	.06			
Mother's age	.936	.06	.15			
Child's age	.876	.08	.08			

Percentages of explained variance (trace criterion) contributed by variables in reduced model (each variable fitted last)

	%
Immigrant status	42.9
N'hood quality	20.7
Family income	18.3
Child's sex	8.3
Street-type	6.3

Table 3 (i) Correlations of parental values items with discriminant functions of variables in reduced model

(ii) Correlations of parental values items with discriminant function for parental occupation (fitted alone) and with the first principal component.

Parental values item	(i) Predictor variables in reduced model					(ii)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Has good manners	.16*	-.10	-.04	.04	.06	.31	.51	.56
Tries hard to succeed	.10	.19*	-.13	-.07	.24**	-.03	-.12	-.09
Is honest	-.03	-.04	.11	.13	-.15	.06	.21	.20
Is neat and clean	.17*	-.04	.21	-.41***	-.02	.51**	.52	.53
Has good sense/ sound judgment	-.21**	.02	-.09	-.12	-.01	-.20	-.51	-.48
Has self-control	.03	.04	.32**	.03	.04	-.03	-.11	-.09
Acts like a boy/girl	.20**	.05	.08	.38**	-.08	.22	.48	.48
Gets on well with siblings	.18*	-.20*	.05	-.10	.05	.16	.29	
Gets on well with other children	-.04*	.33***	.13	-.02	-.07	-.15	-.17	-.15
Obeys his/her parents well	.03	-.10	-.13	-.05	.05	.07	.28	.25
Is responsible	-.17	.00	-.04	.22	-.07	-.23	-.42	-.41
Is considerate of others	-.21**	.16*	-.23*	.00	.02	-.45**	-.38	-.41
Is interested in how and why	-.16	.12	-.20	.08	.17	-.33	-.46	-.46
Is a good student	.43***	-.09	.20	-.04	.18*	.47***	.36	.37

COLUMNS: Correlations with discriminant functions for : (1) Immigrant status (2) Neighbourhood quality (3) Family income (4) Child's sex (5) Street type (6) Parental occupation - fitted alone.

Correlations with : (7) First principal component (8) First principal component omitting "gets on well with siblings".

* Association between parental values item and predictor variable (fitted last in reduced model) is significant at .05.

** Above association is significant at .01

Figure 1. Discriminant function scores for immigrant status

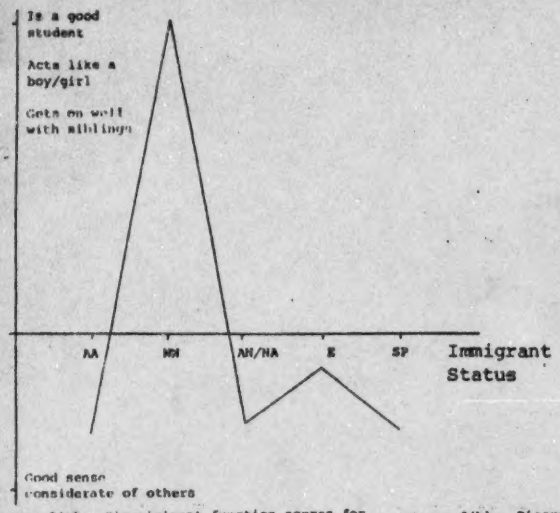


Figure 2. Discriminant function scores for neighborhood

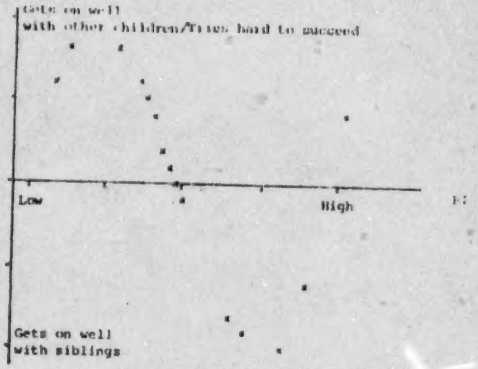


Figure 3(a). Discriminant function scores for income

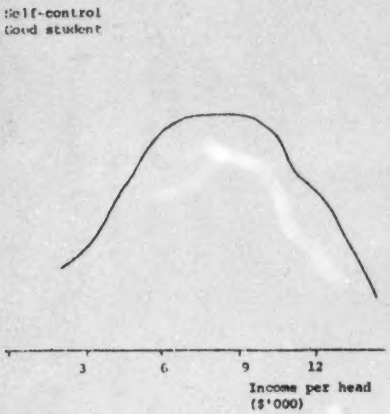


Figure 3(b). Discriminant function scores for sex of child

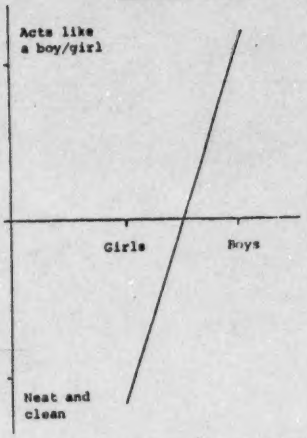


Figure 3(c). Discriminant function scores for street type

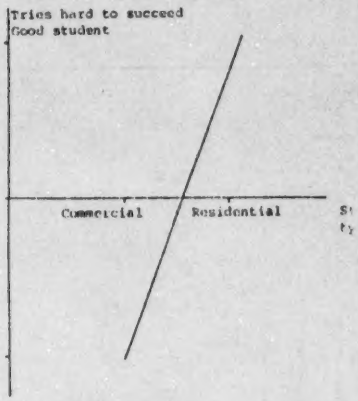
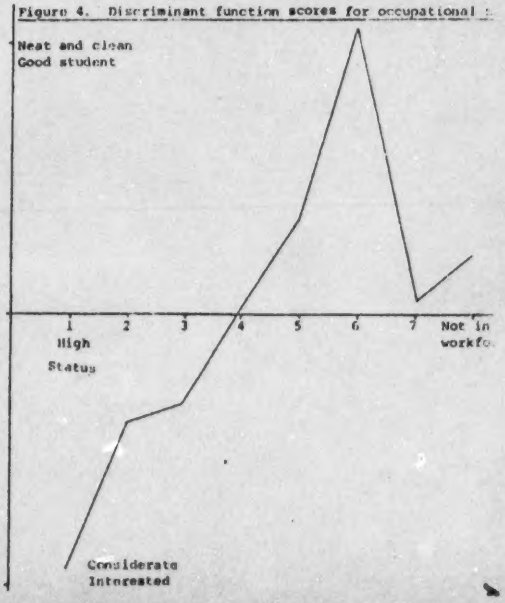


Figure 4. Discriminant function scores for occupational



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